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between the warlike Gé-speaking Suyá and the peaceful but overbearing Kamayurá, they were an easy prey to these tribes and to others more peripheral to the region, such as the Caiabí and Kayapó. The tribes the Trumaí feared most were those to the north. These included the Suyá, Yuruna, and an unidentified group. The Yuruna, located by Galvão on the Diauarum River, north of the Suyá, were said to have made raids on the headwater villages,[13] but nothing is known of any aggression by the unnamed tribe. There is definite documentation of numerous assaults by the Suyá, whose reputation for ferocity is unequalled in the area.

The Suyá villages are located several days journey to the north on the Suyá Missú River, and forays into the Kuluene-Kuliseu region have become relatively rare since the establishment of local airfields. Quain was of the opinion that the last Suyá raid on the Trumaí took place about twenty years ago when the brother of the Trumaí chief was killed. Two of Quain's informants had been captured by the Suyá as pre-pubescent boys. Suyá raids into the tributaries resulted in great destruction and von den Steinen reported a Trumaí village to have been recently burned and looted by them.[14]

The upper Xingú peoples were not always passive towards the Suyá. A revenge attack was once launched by the combined forces of the Kamayurá, Mehinaku, Waurá, and Trumaí. Their flotilla of twenty canoes assaulted and burned a Suyá village, starting another cycle of attacks and counter-attacks. This is the only known case of an inter-tribal alliance in war, but there have probably been others.

When Quain was with the Trumaí the memory of past attacks was still strong, and the mere mention of the Suyá was sufficient to cause great anxiety. Indicative of their feeling toward the Suyá is the Trumaí creation myth according to which the Sun made all tribes except the Suyá who are descended from snakes.

Among the Kuliseu tribes, the Kamayurá and Nahukwa were the two most feared. The former, especially, by small acts of aggression against the weakened Trumaí, had done great harm. As a result of the widespread hostility and distrust, Trumaí life was pervaded with insecurity. Tension always increased at night, and the slightest sound from the brush was enough to cause panic. Rumors of an impending attack were often brought to the village by visitors from other groups. These were generally false stories intended to frighten the Trumaí, but, reflecting the prevailing anxiety, they were always accepted as true.

The Kamayurá were the chief instigators of these tales. One visitor from the latter group told the Trumaí that the Kamayurá were coming to kill all of them as soon as Quain left. The Kamayurá attempted to

[13] Galvão 1952, p. 489.
[14] Von den Steinen 1897, p. 115.

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level of general anxiety. It was usually the result of several days of rumor, omens, and strange fires in the north.

Late one night during Quain's stay, after most of the village had retired, a near panic occurred when two women shouted that the Suyá were attacking. All the initiated men, even the weak and old, rushed to the village center with their bows and arrows. The women and children from two of the four Trumaí houses hurried with their hammocks to the other two houses. The frightened men milled around in the center of the village with no apparent organization or direction. The chief, who was trembling, did not take command of the situation.

If this had been a real attack, noted Quain, the raiders would have given a loud yell and loosed a volley of arrows. He later made an investigation and found no signs of intruders. One of the women thought that someone had thrown dirt at her. Quain believed this to be a habit of the Suyá, but one that was usually a friendly overture.

The women feared other tribes more than did the men, for one of the main purposes of raids was to capture women. In every upper Xingú community women from other tribes are always found. The dispersal of women takes three forms: capture in warfare (by groups outside the area), open abduction of a woman by intimidation of her fellow-villagers, and peaceful intertribal marriage. According to de Lima, the Suyá raid the Waurá village on the Batoví River for female captives, as the women of the Arawakan tribes are the only potters of the region.[16] The Trumaí lost many young women to the Kamayurá by intimidation, the second of the above means. Most of the women in the Trumaí village were at one time held by the Kamayurá with the result that, in many Trumaí marriages, the woman is several years older than the man. At the time of Quain's visit, Trumaí women were still living among the Kamayurá and other groups. One of them, the sister of the Trumaí chief, ran away from the Kamayurá and returned home because her husband had beaten her, an action that angered the Trumaí greatly. There she picked up the threads of her old life, but after a few weeks a party of Kamayurá took her back to their village. The Trumaí offered no resistance, either physical or verbal, although they outnumbered the visitors, for to have done so would have invited retaliation.

The fact that the Trumaí had lost many women completely, or regained them only after their most fertile years had passed, was probably a contributing factor to the depopulation of the group. The losses were only partially compensated for by the marriage of outside women into the Trumaí village. There were three foreign women in the community in 1938: a Suyá, a Mehinaku, and a Kamayurá. Their status was lower than that of the Trumaí women, and they were at times taunted because of their foreign origin. They did not participate as fully in the

[16] De Lima 1950, p. 5.

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culture as the other women, but their everyday existence was much the same.

Men were also taken as captives, although not to the same extent as were women. Tun and Aloari, two Trumaí men, had lived in captivity among the Yuruna. They had feared their captors at first, but once they had learned the language, they said, they were no longer afraid. Apparently both men had been well treated by the Yuruna, for they were kindly disposed towards that tribe. The elder of the two men had a Yuruna wife, whom he left when he returned to his people. How this was accomplished is not known, but escape could not have been very difficult.

Another factor promoting the incorporation of both women and men into other tribes was the depopulation and extinction of their own groups. When the southern Trumaí village was disbanded many of the survivors joined the northern Trumaí, but some moved in with other tribes. Similarly, de Lima reported that the Yaulapití, who disbanded sometime between 1938 and 1945, were to be found among the Kamayurá, Trumaí, and Auetí.[17]

It is possible that more Yaulapití settled with Arawakan speaking groups, but the three above-named tribes were their closest neighbors. The remnants of a disbanded group might also join villages in which they had close kin or personal relationships. A later report by the Srs. Villas Boas, who maintained the recently established airstrip of the Fundação Brasil Central, stated that, as in the case of the Trumaí, the Yaulapití have reconstituted themselves as a group by the establishment of a one-house village.[18] Clearly, except for the peace that has reigned since the airfield was built, a village of some twenty-five people would not be secure from attack. But while the chances of survival are still far from good, the initiation of such a project shows the eagerness of the participants to preserve their social identity.

The main purposes of warfare in the region are to capture women, take loot, and exact revenge. Captive-taking has a clear economic basis in the sporadic warfare between the Suyá and Waurá, as the Suyá capture Waurá women for their knowledge of pottery-making. Among the tribes of the *xingú* area proper, however, this is not done. Arawakan women are married, but Quain's notes indicate that they do not practice pottery-making in their new villages.

It is possible that male and female captives are taken by upper Xingú groups from tribes outside the region to bolster their waning numerical strength, but infanticide and abortion are also present in the area. However, captives do not have to be reared from infancy, and do not constitute the same strain on the economy that children do. It is also

[17] De Lima 1949, p. 25.

[18] This information was obtained verbally from Dr. Eduardo Galvão. Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 4.

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possible that more women may be needed for polygamous marriages, but the data do not indicate plural marriage to be of great significance.

Pillage, also, inspires raids. The Kamayurá threatened to descend on the Trumaí, after Quain left, to rob them of all the Western goods they had obtained. The Suyá took all the Trumaí pots in a raid which occurred immediately before von den Steinen's second trip through the region.[19] The desire for goods is undoubtedly a motivating factor in particular raids, and it may also be a contributing factor in warfare generally, but since the material surplus is low throughout the area and retaliation almost certain, it is doubtful that this is a basic cause.

Insults, too, could provoke aggression. The Kamayurá threatened to chastise the Trumaí because the latter were rumored to have made defamatory remarks about them. Continuous fear and insecurity can also lead a tribe to attack. Quain observed that the Trumaí worked themselves up into such a state of terror that they were capable of desperate deeds. Needless to say, revenge expeditions tended to perpetuate hostility.

Among the Trumaí, no special prestige was derived from warfare, and the men did not boast of their prowess as warriors. Trumaí men showed scars of old wounds to Quain, but only to impress him with the brutality of other tribes. To the Trumaí, warfare was an occasion for fear, and not an opportunity to enhance one's status.

Warfare, however, is important in maintaining social cohesion within the communities. Quain noted that intra-social harmony and cooperation was low in the Trumaí village. Leadership was weak, and there was little friendliness between the men. However, when an attack threatened, quarrels were forgotten and aggressions and anxieties were directed toward the outside world. Also, when members of other tribes were in the village, the whole tone and tempo of life changed, and the Trumaí presented a united front.

This was made manifest during a visit of several Kamayurá. Despite their apprehension, the Trumaí treated their guests as long absent brothers. There was much forced and nervous jocularity and talk. The men expressed tremendous affection towards each other and the Kamayurá by embraces and linking of arms. Industry and activity were high. The Trumaí men went to catch fish to feed the guests and, upon returning, marched into the village singing gaily and led by their chief. After the Kamayurá left, the village lapsed with relief into its normal way of life. The men ceased to show affection for their comrades, and old quarrels broke out anew.

[19] Von den Steinen 1897, p. 144.

/193 cont./

123 Most of them proffered a piece of beijû as a present and at
576 the same time said "má." My companion took my hat, but I
609 respectfully demanded it back. Everything seemed to be going smoothly; I was among the last, and in front they had already reached our hammocks.

609 Suddenly I hear a shot behind me; Cousin Wilhelm is
152 standing there, without his hat, gesticulating, his Indian guest
123 is sitting in the sand and kicking and striking with all fours; already he leaps up. What panic! Are they afraid that the earth will open up and swallow them? This is primitive fear; there is no question but that we have thunder and lightning at our command. With a few leaps all are in the canoes; they push off; screaming, they row with all their might and do not begin to calm down a bit until they are in the middle of the river. No pleading, no peace demonstrations -- we put down the guns and walk unarmed across the beach -- can persuade them to return.

609 A boat with four of our men is in their midst, I thought
123 /194/ at first with the intention of calming the excited compadres; but it soon became evident that they wanted some of their things back, Manoel's pistol, the hats of Castro, Wilhelm, and Antonio, Quintilian's gun, the ax used for the soundings -- I don't know what all; it is incredible how they could have taken possession of all this in the short time.

609 The entire fleet is already on the left side of the Kuliséu.
● 72 Suddenly a Trumaí shoots an arrow toward our canoes, and in a
123 moment the guns of the soldiers are rattling. They assert that they only fired into the air. A wild scene ensues; all the Indians leap head over heels out of the canoes, abandon these and their weapons, swim to the nearby shore, and disappear among the trees. The soldiers, once having been seized by the furor of battle, continue to shoot eagerly, no matter how much Castro, from the shore, tries to order them: rest arms! Finally it is quiet; they rummage and hunt in all the canoes and start coming back. There is not a Trumaí to be seen anywhere in the forest: like peaceful staffage, their canoes lie peacefully along the shore, and only here and there, like a dead bird, a feather ornament floats on the waves.

/196 cont./

114 The incident, which basically has put me in a bad humor, is all the more unpleasant since the soldiers are very delighted about it; they regard it as a sort of easy victory about which they would like to boast. Many also do not consider the "bravo," the savage, worth better treatment, and those who are full-blooded Indians themselves judge most severely. Antonio is still very dissatisfied, although the feather ornament that he procured for himself in place of the unfortunate hat looks much better on him.

[123] We need not doubt but that none of the Trumaí was hit by a bullet; all the men agree about this. They are very good-hearted by nature; they pulled out of the water one boy who, they say, could not swim.

609 Now and then the view is expressed that the Trumaí had a
721 secret disarmament plan. To be sure, the Bakaïrí had warned us in this respect; they described in detail how the Trumaí would receive strangers in a friendly manner, wheedle their weapons from them, and then attack the unsuspecting ones; they would wrench their arms out of their shoulder joints -- "pok, pok, pok," the narrators graphically described it -- tie their hands together, and toss the thus mutilated bodies into the river.

000 Thanks be to the gods if we have escaped such a fate. For the time being, however, I shall deeply regret this day. In popular Brazilian belief, August is an unlucky month. Well, at least we are already at the thirty-first.

And the poor Trumaí are worse off than we are. When they arrive home in their miserable array, deprived of all their weapons and yet none wounded, what will their beloved wives say? Has anything like that ever happened on the Schingú? It will be difficult for the heroes to report their deeds in such a way that praise and honor will be due them; the two trophies so bravely salvaged will play an important role. If not two heads, at least they are bringing home two hats. One of them plaited out of straw, can be understood, explained, but the other, a gray felt -- where are there forest animals whose skin bears hair not only on the outside, but also on the inside? Oh, riddle of life!